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Paris sous Napoléon. In four volumes. Par L. de Lanzac de Laborie. I. *Consulat Provisoire et Consulat à Temps.* II. *Administration; Grands Travaux.* III. *La Cour et la Ville; La Vie et la Mort.* IV. *La Religion.* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1905, 1906, 1907. Pp. vii, 377; ii, 382; ii, 386; iv, 394.)

THE author of these interesting volumes disclaims all political bias. He desires to write a chapter of Napoleonic history unsmirched by partizan passion and founded on a truly scientific basis. But he is positive that in performing such a task the author may hold convictions of a dogmatic nature in religion, and presumably in politics, both clear and strong. He reveals the true historic spirit in a demand upon his readers that they should judge the actors of the time according to the conditions of their lives and not by standards which have arisen "from the license of the press, the disappearance of any sense of authority, the habitual violence of our verbal display".

On the other hand he smiles at the juvenile admiration of his contemporaries for Lanfrey, regrets the animosity even of Taine, and ponders why Napoleon, that prodigious man, capable of enormous enterprises, nevertheless failed in founding a dynasty, or creating imitators. His history must be studied as a thing apart, for the vivid interest in what it means, and for its remote consequences, with no regard whatever for existing politics. For these purposes there are at the bar of the author two parties in evidence, in juxtaposition and in opposition: the First Consul and the City of Paris. Neither one loved the other, yet neither could dispense with the other. For the author's study, France, Europe, the world, are nonexistent. To reproduce in all exactness the physiognomy of Paris at the opening of the nineteenth century is his sole end and aim, so that the interchange of relationships between the parties may be understood.

To this end he has divided his task into four portions: the provisional consulate, the consulate for life and the empire, the religious and ecclesiastical establishment of Napoleon, and the *débâcle*, from the Russian campaign to the end. This last study has not yet been published. The commune of 1871 destroyed all the archives of the metropolitan prefectures, but there still remains an enormous mass of original material in the national archives, in the reports of the police as published by Aulard under the title of *Paris under the Consulate*, in the papers of Emery, deposited in the collections of St. Sulpice, and in the records of Notre Dame. There is also the overwhelming literature stored in the libraries: the National, the Municipal and that of the Institute. To all these due acknowledgment is made as well as to the general historians and their work. The foot-notes are bewildering in their number; useful no doubt to the still higher specialist but utterly valueless to the reader who can have no access to the originals and who finds in title, page and date no means of determining the use made of material; of course quota-

tions would be worthless, too, because an excerpt gives no idea of the whole, and bulky fine print is an annoyance as well as a useless expense. The moral of foot-notes adorns no tale. Either way their liberal use is mere exasperation; but our author represents the school that makes a display of apparatus and is embattled against that of Frederic Masson, which omits all foot-notes whatsoever and woos the reader by internal evidence. Yet he is not above quoting Thiers and Masson and Vandal and all the host of chroniclers, memorialists and pamphleteers who stand or fall on their personal character rather than substantiate their veracity by the exhibit of their tool-chest and laboratory.

M. de Lanzac de Laborie's successes have been recognized by the Academy and crowned with their highest literary prize. A perusal of his pages makes evident the reason. His erudition is rather oppressive and his style is not of the highest French standard. But his moderation, his judgment, his fairness, are everywhere in evidence. No class, no movement, no ebullition of temper, no doubtful morality, no fanaticism, radical or ecclesiastical, is stigmatized, held up to scorn, or used to blacken the motives of those concerned. On the contrary he has a dispassionate explanation of all that is apparently abnormal, he sees the underlying currents, marks the chains of causation, clarifies the evolutionary processes and eschews sensationalism of every kind. In short, he is calm and philosophical where others are didactic and dry like Aulard, or picturesque and theatrical like Stenger, or polemic as are Fauriel and nearly all the contemporaries.

The most original and enlightening portions of the book are those on the religious life of Paris during the period. The tenth chapter of the first volume in particular gives a better account than can be found elsewhere of the revival of religious feeling during the provisional consulate. The decline of that curious semi-official cult Theophilanthropy, the general neglect of the tenth-day official festival, the restoration of Christian services and the observance of the First Day, the reappearance of the Constitutional Church, the new attitude of the Roman Catholic Church and its official re-establishment in spite of ill-will on the part of the authorities; all these details are lucidly and fully given. The entire fourth volume entitled *Religion* was hurried through the press in order to meet the demand for information as to the origin and negotiation of the Concordat during the recent agitations incident to its abolition and the complete separation of church and state. There are however no marks of haste in the book. On the contrary the volume is singularly free from vague generalizations and is marked by careful portraiture of the great ecclesiastical personages, Belloy, Fesch, Emery, Maury and Astros. Indeed it is almost a series of biographies and characterizations that illuminate the process by which the Church of Rome, saved as by fire in the Concordat, regained its prestige and influence despite the impatience and tyranny of Napoleon.

Indeed these volumes are characterized by the quality now observable in much of the contemporary French literature, especially in the novels of René Bazin. If the true Frenchman is to regain his birthright, the thirty millions to be no longer governed by the one or two which comprise radicals, Israelites and Protestants, as has been the case since the foundation of the Third Republic, they must accept accomplished facts. The emancipated Church of Rome must be French and patriotic, moderate and considerate, modern as the Continental phrase runs, forgetting its bitterness, ceasing to pose as a victim of martyrdom, relegating the past to oblivion, granting to the masses the religious morality essential to secular morality; and, minister, not be ministered unto. In this service the historian must not emphasize or exaggerate the sorrows and rebuffs of well-meaning fanaticism or of ultramontaniam, but set forth the constructive processes, the repentance of medievalism under chastisement, and the new life which results from the never-ending struggle of the present with the past. This policy marks these volumes one and all. If the reader desires a portrayal of the baseness of men, their wallowings in vice and spite, their enervated luxury and pagan self-indulgence, he must go elsewhere to find it. The theatrical, vaudeville, even dramatic aspects of the Consulate are rarely indicated. The renewed protoplasm and life-force of the capital and the nation are most in evidence.

This quality appears notably in the treatment of a very knotty question, the clandestine efforts to re-establish monastic institutions, even of lay fraternities, in Paris and in France. Intimately connected with this was the persistent reassembling of nuns and sisters, the educational work of the Christian Brothers and the whole subject of home and foreign missions. The ramifications of these interests into every social rank, as religious life and practice gained strength and intensiveness, are traced with delicacy and truthfulness by the author. No one can be offended by his treatment of a process out of which the ecclesiastical situation during the last years of the last century has grown. In particular there is a refreshing frankness as to the responsibilities of persons. Writers of scientific history are strangely impersonal in these days. The flow of events is traced so dispassionately that somehow an impression of necessitarian hopelessness is left on the minds of readers. Things happened because they must; men behave in any way whatsoever as the puppets of fate; it is too bad, the terrible consequences! but nobody is really to blame. M. de Lanzac de Laborie has other ideas and, as he sees the sequence of things, matters turned out as they did because the controlling minds were free agents; the praise or blame is theirs and they are responsible. It is very refreshing to read his truthful characterizations of Bernier, Consalvi, Spina and all the ecclesiastical negotiators of the Concordat: his sketching of the prelates under whom the church renewed its vigor. Scant justice however is done to the leaders of the Constitutionals and to the Protestants who are held up to a certain contempt, especially Marron, Le Coz and Grégoire. The

pliancy of churchmen and dissenters, of freemasons, Israelites and radicals in the hands of the First Consul, well delineated in these pages, puts everybody concerned more or less in the light of puppets and opens the way for sarcasm. But there are periods when the "pliables" comprehend most of those desiring to restore order and give coherency to organic life in church and state, without which both perish and chaos ensues.

The other volumes are antiquarian rather than historical; the rebuilding and reconstruction of the city interests the author profoundly and he is rather prolix on the subject. Its economic regeneration is also a matter of intense interest and the thousand small but important articles which in their manufacture once more employed great masses of the populace are made the subject of considerable eloquence. The habits of each social class, their homes and their festivals; their clothing, scant and diaphanous in the case of the upper-class women; their luxury and their extravagance, their loose morality, their scandalous tongues, the monstrous proportions of illegitimate births—there is little that escapes notice though the facts are merely enumerated, not elaborated. On the other hand the persistent virtue of the elect few is steadily presented to the reader, and care is taken to emphasize the structural strength of society in all its normal functions. The exemplary home life of the many in every class is not forgotten. The final impression after perusal of the book is of a people buffeted by reversals of belief, of institutions, of government; by foreign wars and intestine revolutions; all due to a survival of the old order far beyond its time. Yet it is nevertheless a people keeping a firm anchorage in essentials, quick to resume evolutionary processes, and sloughing off exaggerated folly with little permanent damage to the nation and community as a whole. This book must be reckoned as one of the most important recent contributions to the life of a new France. It will reach many Frenchmen who have been loath to believe that history is in the making day by day, that the old must pass and be forgotten, that the nation must shed its outgrown garments, that all this is imperative if France is to preserve her identity. Elsewhere it has dawned on the present generation that democracy means active participation in politics of every citizen or subject, that otherwise an oligarchy must emerge. Here in America we have still the pernicious obligarchies of local and party politics; in France the government entire is carried on by a minority. For both conditions there is the same cause; the majority wants all or nothing, the best or the worst. Such citizenship results in the final elimination from efficient life of those who practice it. M. de Lanzac de Laborie presents a picture of how easy it is to discover and exaggerate vice, how hard to find virtue and appreciate it; he shows the indefatigable man at work on the ruins of an antiquated state, using other men as he found them, improving conditions by accepting and modifying them, and delineates the solid, homely, industrious population of Paris both holding its own and

restoring the good that seemed lost because Napoleon knew the value of cities to a country, of a metropolis as the heart-centre of a nation and made short work with irreconcilables—Jacobin or Ultramontane.

A History of the Peninsular War. By CHARLES OMAN, M.A.
Volume III. *September, 1809–December, 1810. Ocaña, Cadiz, Bussaco, Torres Vedras.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908.
Pp. xii, 568.)

ANOTHER sumptuous volume of Professor Oman's *Peninsular War* lies before us, manufactured with all the care and skill of the Clarendon Press, the 568 pages covering the period from September, 1809, to December, 1810—what the author considers "the turning point of the war". Oman is fortunate in having no metre and bounds set to his work, for it enables him, while not losing sight (as so far he certainly has not) of such perspective as there is in this disjointed and long-drawn-out struggle between Wellington and Napoleon's marshals, to enrich his chapters with personal references, acts of individual skill or gallantry, and other facts dear to his especial *clientèle*, which make the work more readable than one which has to be confined to more or less technical details; for when will that fighting animal, man, ever cease to gloat over deeds of heroism or fields of glory? Moreover, he is fortunate in having been over the ground himself, and in having studied much of the topography carefully. His description of the battle of Bussaco, as a result, is the clearest that exists. The most interesting part of the book is that devoted to Masséna's failure in this campaign, and the author is just to this able marshal, who began his military life by triumph and ended it in disaster. But then, so did Hannibal, greatest of all soldiers.

Oman's space likewise enables him to indulge in character sketching, and one gets a novel idea of what manner of men they were who struggled through these long years. The professor is quite frank in such portraiture. Craufurd (he of the wonderful forty-three mile march in twenty-two hours to just miss Talavera) is a disappointed man, "on the lookout for slights and quarrels", due to his lack of promotion, although one of the best equipped men in the army, and "on one of his happy days . . . the most brilliant subordinate Wellington ever owned". Masséna "was a detestable character—but he was a great general; of all the marshals of the Empire he was undoubtedly the most capable"—in which latter opinion one might perhaps disagree with him. The bombardment of the citadel of Lérida, filled with noncombatants, "places that polished writer and able administrator Louis-Gabriel Suchet on the moral level of a king of Dahomey".

The lines of Torres Vedras are well described—one conceives a clear idea of the gigantic nature of the work; and the devastation of so great a part of Portugal to neutralize Masséna's advance, Oman shows to